1: Nachtigall --62 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
492 with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, peo-
ple have them only to have them and to be considered rich.
They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as
beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the
markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are
accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the moun-
tains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are
on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would
not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through in-
breeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable
that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation.
How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is
there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything
about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds
out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times
are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses,
cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castra-
tion of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now
and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist --
cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

623 /175 cont./
293 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
● [552] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[696] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/203 cont./
461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[654] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "cacanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

● 556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/314 cont./

105 241 [412] with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 [224] In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today, the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.

[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time

[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising

[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance

[23] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance

[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In

[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

●[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They
[233] still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.